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Nippon Univac Executive Seminar

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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Chamin Furukawa
FURUKAWA

ADDRESS BY
AMBASSADOR MIKE MANSFIELD
NIPPON UNIVAC EXECUTIVE SEMINAR
IZU EXECUTIVE CENTER, ITO

AUGUST 10, 1980

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE HERE WITH YOU TODAY, PARTICULARLY IN SUCH A BEAUTIFUL AND COMFORTABLE SETTING.

WHEN MR. HIRATA INVITED ME TO JOIN YOU HE ENTICED ME WITH THE FACT THAT TWENTY OR SO OF JAPAN'S TOP BUSINESS EXECUTIVES WOULD BE ATTENDING. I AM PLEASED TO SEE YOU ALL HERE. SO LET ME TAKE ADVANTAGE OF THE OPPORTUNITY TO SHARE WITH YOU SOME OF MY THOUGHTS ON THE SHAPE OF WORLD AFFAIRS AND ITS IMPACT ON U.S.-JAPAN RELATIONS.

MUCH HAS BEEN SAID AND WRITTEN ON THE DECADE OF THE 80'S. EVERY TEN YEARS WE TURN A PAGE ON OUR CALENDARS AND MANY BECOME INSTANT PROPHETS. I RESIST THAT TEMPTATION AND WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO TODAY. BUT IF WE LOOK BACK OVER THE PAST TWO OR THREE YEARS A STRIKING FACT STANDS OUT. THE TURBULENCE BROUGHT ABOUT BY RAPID CHANGE IN EXTERNAL EVENTS HAS BROUGHT OUR TWO COUNTRIES CLOSER TOGETHER. INTERDEPENDENCE -- POLITICALLY AND ECONOMICALLY -- IS NOT MERE RHETORIC. IT IS A FACT -- INDEED AN IMPERATIVE -- WHICH DRIVES THE LEADERSHIP OF OUR TWO COUNTRIES TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT THE NEEDS AND SENSITIVITIES OF EACH OTHER AND OUR SHARED GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

YOU HAVE JUST COMPLETED THE PROCESS OF INSTALLING NEW LEADERSHIP IN YOUR GOVERNMENT. WITH THE DEATH OF PRIME MINISTER OHIRA, JAPAN AND THE WORLD LOST A GREAT STATESMAN AND THE U.S. LOST A GOOD AND VALUED FRIEND. LET ME SAY THAT I AM MOST IMPRESSED BY THE NEW LEADERSHIP WHICH YOU HAVE CHOSEN TO CARRY ON THE LATE PRIME MINISTER'S POLICIES. PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI HAS ASSEMBLED IN HIS CABINET A FORMIDABLE TEAM TO MEET THE DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CHALLENGES WHICH LIE AHEAD.

IT IS ALSO AN ELECTION YEAR IN THE UNITED STATES FOR BOTH THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS. TO YOU -- AS WITH SOME OF US -- IT MUST SEEM A NEVER-ENDING AND COMPLEX PROCESS. I'LL MAKE ONLY ONE PREDICTION. REGARDLESS OF THE OUTCOME IN NOVEMBER, THERE WILL BE A REAFFIRMATION THAT ASIA IS OF INCREASING IMPORTANCE IN THE EXTERNAL RELATIONS OF THE UNITED STATES, AND JAPAN WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE MOST IMPORTANT FACTOR IN THAT RELATIONSHIP.

ONE OF THE MANY ADVANTAGES WE DERIVE FROM THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS IN OUR TWO COUNTRIES IS THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PUBLIC REVIEW OF AND DEBATE ON THE GENERAL OUTLINES OF OUR GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES. IT'S A SOURCE OF GREAT STRENGTH IN OUR RESPECTIVE SOCIETIES.

IN JAPAN YOU, AS BUSINESS LEADERS, ARE KEY PARTICIPANTS IN THAT DEBATE. PERHAPS MORE THAN MOST, YOU ARE AWARE OF THE EXTENT TO WHICH EVENTS EXTERNAL TO JAPAN

SHAPE THAT DEBATE AND AFFECT ITS OUTCOME.

JAPAN IS NOW THE WORLD'S SECOND LARGEST ECONOMY. IT HAS ATTAINED THAT POSITION NOT ONLY THROUGH ITS OWN HARD WORK AND CREATIVITY BUT ALSO BY ITS PARTICIPATION IN A GLOBAL ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL SYSTEM DESIGNED TO PROMOTE ECONOMIC GROWTH AND POLITICAL STABILITY. IT IS A SYSTEM BASED ON THE SHARED VALUES AND INTERESTS OF FREE, DEMOCRATIC SOCIETIES. IT HAS NEVER WORKED PERFECTLY AND IT NEVER WILL. IT HAS REQUIRED CONSTANT CONSULTATION AND COOPERATION AND A GREAT DEAL OF ATTENTION AND EFFORT BILATERALLY AND IN THE MULTILATERAL AND INTERNATIONAL FORUMS WHICH GIVE IT FORM AND STRUCTURE. PERHAPS WE NEED TO REMIND OURSELVES FROM TIME TO TIME THAT THIS SYSTEM, DESPITE ITS IMPERFECTIONS AND EVEN OCCASIONAL FRUSTRATIONS, SERVES OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS BETTER THAN ANY ALTERNATIVE SYSTEM COULD.

I SENSE THAT IN JAPAN THERE IS A GROWING AWARENESS OF THE RESPONSIBILITY IT MUST SHARE IN THE MAINTENANCE AND IMPROVEMENT OF THIS GLOBAL SYSTEM. PARTLY THIS AWARENESS RESULTS FROM THE OBSERVATION THAT NO ONE COUNTRY CAN -- OR SHOULD -- BEAR THIS RESPONSIBILITY ALONE. IF THE U.S. ONCE CAME CLOSE TO PERFORMING THAT ROLE, IT IS CLEAR THAT IT CAN NO LONGER DO SO. WE ARE IN THE SAME BOAT AND THE STRENGTH OF OUR OARSMEN IS NOW MORE NEARLY EQUAL. PARTLY IT RESULTS FROM THE RADICALLY CHANGED CONDITIONS

IN THE GLOBAL ENVIRONMENT WHICH HAVE PUT GREAT STRAIN ON THE SYSTEM. IT ALSO RESULTS FROM GROWING RECOGNITION IN JAPAN THAT ECONOMICS AND POLITICS ARE NO LESS SEPARABLE PHENOMENA INTERNATIONALLY THAN THEY ARE DOMESTICALLY.

IT IS A SIMPLE FACT THAT IF WE CANNOT ENSURE OUR SECURITY, WE CANNOT ENSURE OUR ECONOMIC WELL-BEING AND OUR COMMON POLITICAL ASPIRATIONS. EVENTS IN INDOCHINA, IN AFGHANISTAN AND IN IRAN HAVE AWAKENED US TO THE THREAT POSED TO OUR SECURITY AND OUR ECONOMIC WELL-BEING. ONE CAN DEBATE SOVIET INTENTIONS. NO ONE CAN DOUBT THAT THEIR ACTIONS DEMONSTRATE A CAPABILITY TO EXTEND SOVIET INFLUENCE INTO AREAS OF THE WORLD WHICH ARE VITAL TO OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS.

JAPAN AS WELL AS AMERICA'S OTHER ALLIES HAVE JOINED US IN UNDERTAKING STEADY AND SIGNIFICANT INCREASES IN THEIR DEFENSE BUDGETS IN RESPONSE TO THE CHANGING INTERNATIONAL SITUATION. I BELIEVE THIS IS A HEALTHY TREND AND SHOULD BE CONTINUED IN ORDER TO PROMOTE INTERNATIONAL STABILITY. NEVERTHELESS, THE DECISION IS FOR EACH COUNTRY TO MAKE IN KEEPING WITH ITS OWN PERCEPTION OF ITS DEFENSE NEEDS AND INTERNATIONAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL OBLIGATIONS.

NO ONE CAN QUARREL WITH THE CONCEPT THAT OUR SECURITY SHOULD BE SEEN IN ITS BROADEST ASPECTS. SECURITY INDEED ENCOMPASS SUCH AREAS AS DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS, DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE TO THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES, AND DOMESTIC

ECONOMIC STRENGTH AS WELL AS MILITARY CAPABILITY. EACH IS IMPORTANT. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT WE WELCOME THE INCREASING DIPLOMATIC ENGAGEMENT OF JAPAN IN REGIONAL AND GLOBAL EVENTS. JAPAN HAS MUCH TO CONTRIBUTE -- MORE THAN MOST. AND IT IS IN JAPAN'S OWN INTEREST TO DO SO. NO OTHER COUNTRY HAS A GREATER STAKE IN SEEING TO IT THAT THE ADJUSTMENT TO RADICALLY AND RAPIDLY CHANGING CIRCUMSTANCES IN ITS EXTERNAL ENVIRONMENT ENHANCES THE FREE WORLD'S SECURITY AND ITS CAPACITY FOR ECONOMIC GROWTH.

IN MY OWN COUNTRY THERE IS GROWING AWARENESS THAT WE TOO MUST IMPROVE OUR CAPACITY TO ADJUST TO CHANGE. HERE I HAVE REFERENCE PARTICULARLY TO THE GROWING CONCERN OVER THE UNITED STATES' COMPETITIVE POSITION IN THE WORLD MARKET PLACE. CURIOUSLY, AS JAPAN LOOKS INCREASINGLY OUTWARD IN A DIPLOMATIC SENSE, THE UNITED STATES IS LOOKING INCREASINGLY INWARD IN AN ECONOMIC SENSE. BOTH THESE DEVELOPMENTS PROVIDE OPPORTUNITY AND CHALLENGE. I FIND AMERICANS TODAY ARE LESS INCLINED TO ASK WHAT IS IT THAT OTHERS ARE DOING RIGHT AND WE ARE DOING WRONG. I ALSO SEE JAPANESE LESS INCLINED TO LOOK TO THE U.S. FOR PROTECTION OF THEIR VITAL INTERNATIONAL INTERESTS AND MORE INCLINED TO ASK HOW THEY MIGHT ACT TO SUPPORT THOSE INTERESTS THEMSELVES.

IN A SENSE, THESE TWO TRENDS IN EACH OF OUR COUNTRIES ARE COMPLEMENTARY AND HEALTHY FOR THE FUTURE OF OUR

RELATIONSHIP. WITH ITS STRONG ECONOMIC BASE JAPAN MUST INCREASINGLY CONTRIBUTE TO THE SOLUTION OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC AND SECURITY PROBLEMS. AT THE SAME TIME THE UNITED STATES MUST MOVE RAPIDLY TO ENSURE THAT THE FUTURE VITALITY AND STRENGTH OF ITS ECONOMY IS EQUAL TO ITS CONTINUING GLOBAL RESPONSIBILITIES.

IF YOU WANT A GOOD IDEA OF THE AGENDA FOR THE PUBLIC DEBATE NOW EMERGING IN THE U.S. LET ME BRING TO YOUR ATTENTION A RECENT ISSUE OF BUSINESS WEEK DEVOTED ALMOST ENTIRELY TO THE SUBJECT, "THE RE-INDUSTRIALIZATION OF AMERICA". MORE AND MORE COMMENTATORS ARE REFERRING TO THE SUPPLY SIDE OF THE ECONOMY, MEANING WE SHOULD BEGIN PAYING LESS ATTENTION TO POLICIES DIRECTED AT DEMAND MANAGEMENT AND MORE TO THOSE DIRECTED TOWARD INCREASING PRODUCTIVITY AND CAPITAL INVESTMENT.

FRANKLY, I WAS NOT SURPRISED THAT IN THE BUSINESS WEEK ISSUE I FOUND FREQUENT POSITIVE REFERENCES TO JAPAN. JAPAN IS SEEN AS A MODEL IN SUCH AREAS AS LABOR-MANAGEMENT RELATIONS AND IN NON-ADVERSARIAL BUSINESS-GOVERNMENT RELATIONS. IT MAY SEEM STRANGE TO YOU, BUT FOR AMERICANS TO BE OPENLY DEBATING THE QUESTION OF ADOPTING A NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL POLICY VERGES ON A REVOLUTION IN TRADITIONAL AMERICAN ECONOMIC THINKING. I WELCOME THIS DEBATE. IT IS CLEARLY OVERDUE. I AM ENCOURAGED THAT IT IS TAKING THE POSITIVE

PATH OF EFFORTS TO REVITALIZE THE AMERICAN INDUSTRIAL MACHINE AND NOT THE NGATIVE PATH OF PROTECTIONISM. I BELIEVE IT IS A DEVELOPMENT THAT SHOULD BE APPLAUDED BY JAPANESE.

IF WE WERE TO LIST THOSE AREAS WHERE JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES SHARE COMMON INTERESTS IT WOULD FAR OUTNUMBER THOSE WHERE WE HAVE DIFFERENCES. INDEED, AGAINST THE BROAD BACKGROUND OF OUR RELATIONS SOME OF OUR MOMENTARY TRADE PROBLEMS ARE BUT BLIPS ON THE SCREEN. EVEN SUCH IMPORTANT ISSUES AS AUTOMOBILES AND NTT CAN BE MANAGED IF WE BOTH MAKE THE EFFORT. THE RECORD CLEARLY SHOWS THAT WE HAVE AVAILABLE TO US THE MECHANISMS NECESSARY TO THE WORKING OUT OF MUTUALLY SATISFACTORY SOLUTIONS. AND IN BOTH COUNTRIES WE HAVE LEADERS WHO ARE COMMITTED TO THIS EFFORT.

IN A RELATIONSHIP AS IMPORTANT AND AS BROAD AS OURS, WE WILL ALWAYS HAVE PROBLEMS TO WORK OUT. FOR THIS, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE HAVE FREQUENT AND CANDID CONSULTATIONS -- NOT ONLY AT THE GOVERNMENT-TO-GOVERNMENT LEVEL BUT AT ALL LEVELS OF OUR SOCIETY AND PARTICULARLY AMONG OUR BUSINESSMEN. I AM, THEREFORE, PARTICULARLY APPRECIATIVE OF YOUR INTEREST IN U.S.-JAPANESE AFFAIRS AND WOULD ENCOURAGE YOU TO CONTINUE TO CONTRIBUTE TO BETTER UNDERSTANDING BETWEEN OUR TWO COUNTRIES.

IN CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE TO RECALL A GOAL EXPRESSED TO ME BY THE LATE PRIME MINISTER AND AFFIRMED TO ME BY PRIME MINISTER SUZUKI -- THE DEVELOPMENT OF OUR RELATIONSHIP AS A CONSTRUCTIVE PARTNERSHIP BETWEEN EQUALS. LET ME ASSURE YOU, AS I ASSURED THEM, THAT WE IN THE U.S. FULLY SHARE THAT GOAL.

PARTICIPANTS

Mr. MASAYASU KONDO	Executive Managing Director THE MITSUI TRUST & BANKING CO., LTD.
Mr. TADAO SHIOTANI	President THE TAIYO KOBE BANK, LTD.
Mr. KENIICHI KAMIYA	Executive Managing Director THE MITSUI BANK, LTD.
Mr. SUKEJIRO MATSUZAWA	Senior Executive Managing Director YAMAICHI SECURITIES CO., LTD.
Mr. MORIMASA SANTO	Senior Executive Managing Director NEW JAPAN SECURITIES CO., LTD.
Mr. TAKERU ISHIKAWA	Senior Executive Managing Director TAISHO MARINE & FIRE INSURANCE CO., LTD.
Mr. HIDETAKA TAKAGI	Executive Managing Director THE TOKYO MARINE & FIRE INSURANCE CO., LTD.
Mr. KENICHI NYUI	Executive Vice President MITSUI MUTUAL LIFE INSURANCE CO.
Mr. KOJI IMAKITA	Senior Executive Managing Director MITSUBISHI ELECTRIC CORPORATION
Mr. NAMIO HASHIMOTO	Senior Executive Managing Director OKI ELECTRIC INDUSTRY CO., LTD.
Mr. KANAME TANIGUCHI	Executive Vice President MITSUBISHI HEAVY INDUSTRIES, LTD.
Mr. SADA0 MURAKAMI	Executive Managing Director MITSUBISHI PETROCHEMICAL CO., LTD.
Mr. YASUHIRO YAGI	Executive Vice President KAWASAKI STEEL CORP.
Mr. MOTOO HARADA	Executive Managing Director NISSAN MOTOR CO., LTD.
Mr. YOSHINDO FUJITA	Executive Managing Director JAPANESE NATIONAL RAILWAYS

Mr. KAISUKE AKAGI

Executive Vice President
NIPPON EXPRESS CO., LTD.

Mr. ICHIRO IKEDA

President
NIPPON TRAVEL AGENCY CO., LTD.

Mr. TOSHIHIKO KUBOTA

Senior Executive Managing Director
TOA DOMESTIC AIRLINES

Mr. SABURO AOKI

Executive Vice President
MITSUI & CO., LTD.

Mr. SHOICHI YOSHIDA

Executive Vice President
THE CHUBU ELECTRIC POWER CO., LTD.

Mr. YOSHIKUMI MIYAMOTO

Senior Executive Managing Director
SANYO ELECTRIC CO., LTD.

INVITED SPEAKERS

H.E. MICHAEL J. MANSFIELD

AMBASSADOR OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA
TO JAPAN

Mr. KIICHIRO SAEKI

Chairman
NOMURA RESEARCH INSTITUTE

HOSTS OF NIPPON UNIVAC

Mr. JIRO FUKUNAGA

Chairman

Mr. HIROSHI HIRATA

President

Mr. JOHN R. EVANS

Senior Executive Managing Director

Mr. TOSHIHARU INOUE

Senior Executive Managing Director

Mr. TSUTOMU HIROSUE

Managing Director